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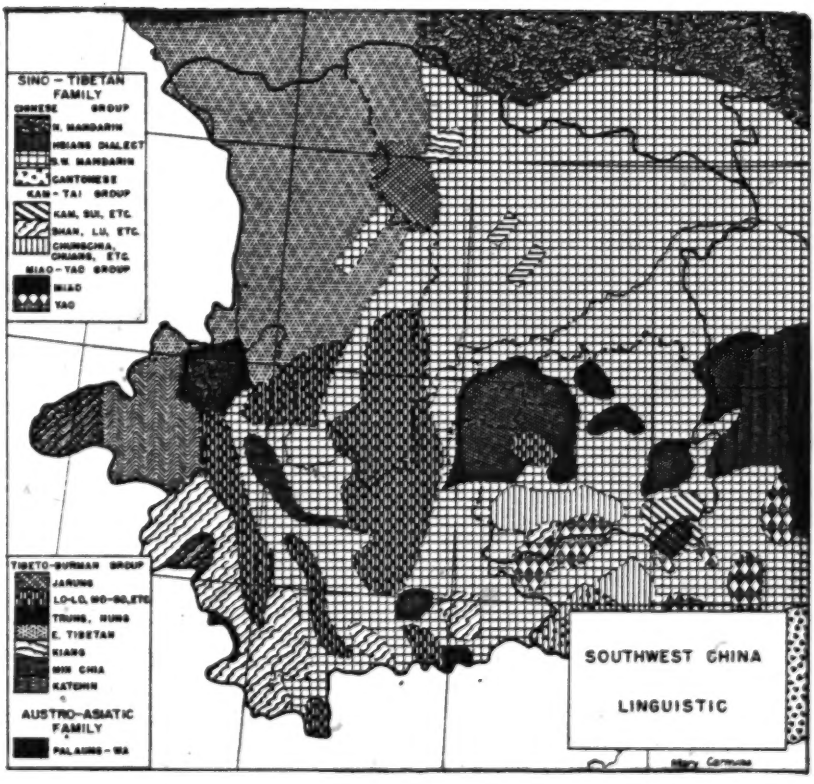

[facing p. 92]

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1e,
Sociological Background

LANGUAGE

I. MAJOR DIALECT GROUPS AND DISTRIBUTION OF SPEAKERS

197 Only two Chinese dialect groups, Southwestern Mandarin and Hakka, are spoken in this region, and the former is by far the most popular. But a good number of non-Chinese dialects are spoken by the people in the Southwestern frontier areas. The distribution of these dialects is as follows:

Southwestern Mandarin -- spoken by approximately 80,000,000 throughout this region.

Hakka -- spoken by several million people in a few scattered districts near Chengtu in Szechwan Province.

Kam-Tai -- about 5,000,000 speakers in southern and southeastern Kweichow and eastern, western, and southern Yunnan.

Miao-Yao -- about 2,500,000 speakers in Kweichow and the mountainous areas in Yunnan.

Tibeto-Burman -- about 3,000,000 speakers in western Szechwan and the mountainous areas in Yunnan.

II. DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE DIALECTS

A. Southwestern Mandarin

Next to Northern Mandarin, Southwestern Mandarin is the largest dialect group in China in terms of the number of people who speak it and the area which it covers. Like Northern Mandarin, its dialects are fairly homogeneous. The following are some of its characteristics:

1. The initials n and l are not distinguished except in some Yunnan dialects. However, there is a tendency to treat these two sounds as conditioned variants or partially conditioned variants of a sound unit. That is to say, l is heard before mid and low vowels while n is heard before high vowels; or, although either n or l may occur as free variants before mid and low vowels, n occurs regularly before high vowels.

2. There are no retroflex sounds because such sounds are replaced by dental sibilants; thus Northern Mandarin chu (pig) becomes tsu, shan (mountain) becomes san.

3. The guttural nasal ng usually precedes the Northern Mandarin zero-initial when the latter is not a high vowel. Thus, words pronounced like ai (to love), e (forehead), and en (favor) of Northern Mandarin, become ngai, nge, and ngen, respectively.

4. When initial h precedes a syllabic u, it is changed to f; thus, Northern Mandarin hu (tiger) becomes fu.

5. The common Northern Mandarin unrounded back vowel ə̂, found in such words as kə̂, sometimes also written ko. (elder brother), hə̂, or ho (river), is replaced by a rounded o generally.

The same back vowel in other Northern Mandarin words such as te (to obtain), se (color), che (this), k'e (guest), etc., is replaced by a front vowel e (which sounds like a in chaotic) in many dialects in this region.

6. Northern Mandarin final uo is replaced by ue in such words as kuo (nation) and huo (or), which become kue and hue respectively in Southwestern Mandarin.

7. Northern Mandarin final üeh is replaced by io in such words as hsüeh (to learn) and chüeh (to become aware), which become hsio and chio respectively in Southwestern Mandarin.

8. There is only one final nasal, n, after the vowels ə, i, u.

9. The four tones of Northern Mandarin are described as high-level, high-rising, low-dipping, and high-falling; most of the Southwestern Mandarin dialects have a tonal pattern consisting of the high-level, low slightly falling, falling, and rising tones.

10. Within this dialect group, the following local variations are observed:

a) Dialects spoken in some areas along the upper reaches of the Yangtze River have preserved the ancient "entering" tone, which is generally associated with a "lax" vowel. Thus these dialects have five, instead of four, tones.

b) In certain areas, the common diphthing ie is changed to the simple vowel i; thus Northern Mandarin chieh (elder sister) becomes chi.

c) Some dialects in Yunnan and Kweichow lack the rounded high front vowel ü; thus Northern Mandarin nü (woman) becomes ni, and chü (to dwell) becomes chi.

B. Hakka

All Hakka people in Szechwan Province are bilingual; they speak Hakka at home and Southwestern Mandarin outside their village. Although they believe that Hakka remains their "ancestors' language," it actually has been very much influenced by Southwestern Mandarin and has lost many of its features except the following:

1. Many aspirated initials are substituted for unaspirated initials; thus Northern Mandarin tu (to cross a river) becomes t'u, and tso (to sit) becomes ts'o.

2. The initial v replaces the zero-initial u in Northern Mandarin; thus Northern Mandarin wu (house) becomes vu, and wan (ten thousand) becomes van.

3. There is no ü sound except in a few words apparently borrowed from Mandarin.

4. In many words, the diphthong oi replaces the Northern Mandarin ai, and the final on replaces an; thus Northern Mandarin kai (should) becomes koi, and an (dark) becomes on.

194 5. There are six to seven tones, two of which
197 are derived from the ancient "entering" tone and associated with final p, t, and k.

C. Kam-Tai

Kam-tai, like the other two major non-Chinese dialect groups spoken in this region, belongs to the extensive Sin-Tibetan family which includes Chinese dialects. The Sino-Tibetan language family, generally speaking, is: (a) monosyllabic -- the ultimate constituents of the language are all monosyllabic; (b) tonal -- when normally stressed, the pattern of pitch of a syllable determines its meaning; (c) uninflectional forms virtually do not exist. The special characteristics of Kam-Tai can be further described as follows:

1. It has eight or more tones. This results from the development into two tones of each of the four tones in ancient Sino-Tibetan languages.

2. There are pre-glottalized voiced consonants, such as b and d. This is especially true of Kam dialects.

3. Consonant clusters are preserved, in Tai, but they do not appear as initials in Kam dialects.

4. Long and short vowels are differentiated.

[193] 5. Word order, in some respects, is different from Chinese dialects. For example, hao jen (good man) in Chinese becomes jen hao in Kam-Tai.

6. Certain dialects, such as those spoken by the Pai-yi people in southern Yunnan, have preserved aspirated consonants as initials.

7. Examples of Kam-Tai sounds are given below:

	Kam	Tai (as spoken in southern Yunnan)	Tai (as spoken in eastern Yunnan)
palm	fa	p'a	va
eye	da	t'a	ta
fish	mum	pja	pla
egg	tai	kjai	klai

D. Miao-Yao

Earlier scholars have grouped Yao with Tai described above, and Miao with the Mon-Khmer language family. However, further comparative studies have shown that a greater affinity exists between Miao and Yao and that there seems to be more reason to group these two as a separate branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. This group has the following common features:

1. In Miao there is no final consonant except the guttural nasal ng and rarely the dental nasal n. But final consonants m, n, ng, and p, t, k are common in Yao dialects.

2. Initial consonant clusters are common in Miao, especially pre-nasalized ones such as mp, nt, mpl, mpr, etc., but rare in Yao.

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3. Gutturals and uvulars in the initial position are differentiated in Miao.

4. Many words in Yao are borrowed from either Chinese or Tai.

5. The following are examples of Miao and Yao words as spoken by different groups of the frontier peoples.

	Miao		Yao	
water	ong	ai	wam	vom
door	tong	tai	keng	keng
house	pla	pra	piau	piau
to die	tu	to	tai	tai

E. Tibetan-Burmese (Tibeto-Burman)

The use of prefixes, syllabic or assyllabic, and the subject-object-verb word order are common features of this group. In comparison with Kam-Tai, this group has a much simpler tonal pattern. Four sub-groups of Tibetan-Burmese are spoken in this region:

1. Tibetan

a) Unlike the Tibetan spoken in Tibet, this sub-group has preserved the prefixes and final consonants of ancient Tibetan.

b) Each word has two forms, "common" and "honorific"; the latter is used when the speaker wishes to be polite. For example:

	Common	Honorific
eye	mig	spyan
nose	sna	shangs
mouth	kha	zhal

2. Lolo-Moso This sub-group includes a number of aboriginal languages and has a complicated initial system. In addition to the common initials, there are also pre-nasalized voiced stops and affricatives such as mb, nd, ndz, ngg, etc.

3. Kachin The only general characteristic so far ascertained of the people who speak this sub-group is that they tend to pronounce the prefixes as separate syllables.

4. Others Small minority nationality groups inhabiting the Yunnan-Burma border zone speak a variety of dialects. Information on these minor dialects has been extremely scanty and it is generally assumed that they belong to the Burmese branch of the Tibetan-Burmese group.

F. Other Non-Chinese Dialect Groups

A number of non-Chinese dialects, which are not sub-groups of the Sino-Tibetan family, are also spoken in this region. The Palaung (with about 5,000 population), Puman (14,000 population), and Wa (about 56,000 population) each has its own dialect. These dialects are related to the Peguan (or Mon) language spoken in Burma and the Cambodian (or Khmer) language spoken in Indo-China. Linguistically they come under the Palaung-Wa group which uses more affixes than dialects of the Sino-Tibetan family.

IV. DEGREE OF AUDITORY INTELLIGIBILITY

197 Although it is rather difficult to point out the exact degree of mutual auditory intelligibility of the languages and dialects spoken in this region, the previous section dealing with their distinguishing features should have made it reasonably clear that non-Chinese languages, although not entirely free from Chinese influences, bear little resemblance to the Chinese dialects. Hence they are not intelligible to the Chinese-speaking people of the region. Furthermore, they are sufficiently different from one another to be mutual unintelligible.

Speakers of Southwestern Mandarin generally have a great deal of difficulty in trying to understand Hakka. However, since speakers of Hakka in this region are able to converse in Southwestern Mandarin also, there is no insurmountable barrier between them and speakers of Southwestern Mandarin.

V. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OR KUO-YU

197 Since there is no standard spoken Chinese,
185 and since the various Chinese dialects in general are sufficiently different to make them mutually unintelligible to various degrees, many difficulties naturally arise. The Chinese themselves have long felt the need for a national language that will help them solve such difficulties. Consequently, as early as 1911, a movement was

launched to unify the national language, and a system of thirty-nine phonetic symbols which were later reduced to thirty-seven was devised primarily for the purpose of indicating speech sounds. In the following year the pronunciation of Northern Mandarin as typified by the dialect of Pei ping was adopted as the standard for the new national language. With the strong support of the government and educational leaders, the movement soon gained momentum and swept the entire country. Gradually more and more speakers of other dialects began to make an effort to learn the new national language or kuo-yü.

During the years of China's war of resistance against Japan when people speaking various dialects were squeezed into the hinterland, dialectal barriers were gradually broken down. A situation like that proved to be favorable to the further popularization of the national language. Although it may be exaggeration to say that now the national language has replaced the local dialects in the Southwest Region, it is nevertheless true that kuo-yü is gaining wider acceptance than ever before.

VI. THE WRITTEN LANGUAGES

A. The Chinese Written Language

The Chinese written language consists of thousands of uniformly understood logographs or "characters" as they are commonly called. They can be understood only with reference to their ancient forms.

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101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 洱江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍[3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] 197 The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Pa-laung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. *See*: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

539 193 101 [302] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan]. Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 鰋昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 擕, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

[3] Latitude, 25° 49′; Longitude 99° 22′. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 洱 is read *tz'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river Pi Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 洱 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 沘, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chio-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 騾馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

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water. Their language is a species [dialect] of that of the P'o-jen 㑩人.[1] Their disposition is like that of the Mo-so. They abhor litigation. They weave hemp cloth, plant fields, and pay taxes in kind."

From Hsiao-wei-hsi to Pai-lang-t'ung 白浪桐, on the east bank of the Mekong, is a distance of about three li. The village is situated about 200 feet above the river. The trail ascends to the summit of a hill whence a glorious view of the Mekong valley opens before the traveler, the hill being above Pai-lang-t'ung. From here we march through beautiful groves of walnut and chestnut trees, which also line the trail to the little hamlet of Chu-ta 出大 (H-M., Djüta bungun), with its terraced rice and maize-fields. At Chu-ta are large rapids in the Mekong, and high, conical mountains tower into the sky, resembling huge volcanic cones, one being especially conspicuous even from south of Hsiao-wei-hsi.

The trail crosses a tributary over a wooden bridge near the village of Pa-lo 巴羅 (H-M., Balo) and five li beyond passes the hamlet of Wo-nu 窩怒. The Mekong valley narrows, and beyond, at a bend of the river on the west bank, there is a small hamlet with pine forest above it; on the east bank diagonally across is the hamlet of Ngai-wa 岩瓦. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. The trail passes at the foot of a vertical and overhanging wall of slate and mica schist, thence through stunted oak forest somewhat above the river-bed. For a considerable distance no habitation is visible and the region is wild and lonely. Beyond the narrow part, the valley widens into a flat, broad terrace, on which is situated the hamlet of San-chia-ts'un 三家村; maize here, too, is the principal crop. Again the trail leads along a bluff considerably above the river, only to descend to its banks at the mouth of a narrow canyon, with a torrent rushing to the Mekong. This torrent is called the Ta-ch'iao Ho 大橋河 (Large bridge River) and is spanned by a wooden bridge. The bridge was once covered but is now in ruins, and is not the large one that the name would imply. Apparently the narrow canyon widens into a broad valley, as a high, blue mountain range with rugged peaks is visible in the background. The village of Ta-ch'iao 大橋 (H-M., Tatschau) is situated on a terrace above. The river makes a rather wide curve, round a spur which extends considerably out into the stream-bed and forces the river against a steep mountain wall of purplish rock, some 1,500–2,000 feet high. At the foot of the rock wall the trail winds near the river-bed over many land-slides; it ascends again and leads high above the river through stunted pine forest, which covers the gravelly, sandy, much eroded hill-sides, following the contours of the deep ravines.

K'ang-p'u and Šhou-kuo Ssu lamasery. — We emerge at K'ang-p'u 康普, called K'u-mbu (The threshold) in Na-khi; the land spreads out like a fan 500 feet above the river. K'ang-p'u is a somewhat neglected-looking affair, consisting of two villages proper, Upper and Lower K'ang-p'u, separated by a stream which flows in a ravine and is spanned by a wooden bridge. In the northern part of the village is the house of the chief who holds the rank of T'u-ch'ien-tsung (Native lieutenant). His family name is Nan 喃. He is a very pleasant and dignified-looking individual, with a dense greyish mustache, and resembles more an aristocratic Magyar than a Na-khi. In his

[1] [i.e. the La-ma o -- Analyst]

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yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 慕頂], A-tung 阿東, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

"Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown. Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 believers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk, wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(*Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.*)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo) [10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

[9] ཀླ་ཆུ [10] སྨད་རྩེ་མོ

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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inkabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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mattresses on beds occupied by members of the chief's family for lack of storage space. When wanted the *Buchĕr* is cut cross-wise into strips, which are dropped into boiling water for a few minutes only, as otherwise the fat would quickly melt.

6. THE NORTH-WESTERN CORNER OF THE PLAIN

There remains still to be described the north-western corner of Yung-ning to the Mu-li boundary. To reach the Mu-li border from Yung-ning on the direct road to Mu-li Lamasery, we follow the trail leading along the foot-hills which encircle the plain north-east of the Yung-ning Monastery. The first village east of the latter is called La-lo situated beyond a spur with a watch-tower. Instead of following the foot-hills, we ascend the spur past a little hamlet to a pass and descending a small ravine, strike a valley coming from the west. Crossing its stream we descend to its mouth past the village Muan-ndĕr, then cross the Erh dji, pass the famous Yung-ning hot spring which is always steaming, and come to the hamlet of Wua-la-pi at an elevation of 9,600 feet and 19 li distant from the lamasery. From Wua-la-pi the trail leads up an extension of the Erh dji valley to its head; on the western bank of the stream is a large, level, grassy place, which would make an excellent landing-field for aeroplanes if the Yun-ning plain did not offer the best type of aviation ground.

Two hamlets are situated near the western mountain slopes which hem in this valley. This mountain spur is the divide between the Sä dji and the Erh dji. At the head of the valley the trail leads in zigzags up the hill-side, entering forest of large oaks, both evergreen and deciduous, and pines. The path here becomes a mere ditch and next to impassable. At the summit of the spur at an elevation of 10,500 feet is a rock cairn, or *obo*, which denotes the Yün-nan — Yung-ning and Hsi-kang — Mu-li border. This is, however, not the ethnic border of the Na-khi — Hsi-fan tribes, for the former extend into Mu-li. The first hamlet we strike in Mu-li territory, called Lä-dgyu-dzu (Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴), is inhabited entirely by Na-khi.

From the border the trail leads through magnificent virgin forest of oaks, pines, azaleas, etc., skirting the mountains with a valley to the east; it is the Du-llo dji, which joins the Hli dji in the Ch'ien-so country and united becomes part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河 (Wo-lo Ho).

The trail now leads out of the forest over grassy slopes into a circular basin, in which the village of Lä-dgyu-dzu is situated, elevation 10,000 feet, and a distance of 38 li from Yung-ning lamasery.

Although the inhabitants of Lä-dgyu-dzu are pure Li-chiang Na-khi, they speak besides the Li-chiang dialect also Hsi-fan and Hli-dü.

Beyond Lä-dgyu-dzu are Lo-lo and Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me). The village beyond is called Vu-dyü or Vu-dyu (Wu-chio 烏角) and is inhabited by Hsi-fan, although Lo-lo have also settled there (PLATE 242).

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY

The Locality

West Town is within a day's journey on foot or horseback from Hsiakuan, the nearest point on the Burma Road. It has Er Hai (a lake) to one side and Ta'ang Shan, a mountain about 14,000 feet above sea level, to the other side. The general level of the ground in this part is about 6,700 feet above sea level. The chief occupation of the area is agriculture, rice being the staple crop. But trading in various forms is common both as a subsidiary and as the chief occupation. The trading includes both local exchanges in various markets and large-scale commercial adventures into the outer world. West Town is built on this peculiar form of commercialism.(3)

The locality is a small village or town, being under the jurisdiction of the district government of Tali. It has a population of about 1,000 households and about 8,000 people. Shops are not numerous, mostly groceries, cloth stores and a few food shops. There are a few native dispensaries and one apparently modern dispensary. The chief markets of exchange are the periodic fairs which take place both in and near the town.

The town is not walled. Some years ago four gates were erected which shut the town from the outlying villages at the ends of the two main thoroughfares of the town, which cross each other. At night the streets are patroled by a town-hired watchman. But the population of the town is not only confined to within these gates. Near the town are at least nine more or less clearly marked out-clusters of houses, each of which has a name as a village. Within the four gates, each street, or each section of a street, is also called a village.

People and Culture

The town with its nine near-by and several more distant villages is under the authority of a Chen-Chang (head of a sub-district) appointed by and under the direction of the governor of the district (Hsien Chang) of Tali. A small police force, supported by the town, maintains law and order. Generally speaking, the town and its satellite villages is one of the Min Chia colonies in Yunnan. But all inhabitants in the town and in all the nine near-by villages except one insists on their Chinese origin, and will be seriously offended if suggestions to the contrary are made to them. This controversial point is not the concern of this paper. It suffices here to observe that all except the inhabitants in that one village who profess to be Min Chias bind their women's feet and wear Chinese dress. But all speak Min Chia as their mother-tongue. Most men and a few women, however, speak Chinese (with a strong local accent) as well. Here the social differences between men and women is carried to its extreme. Virginity of unmarried women and chastity of married women are heavily guarded and valued. Women work while men enjoy light conversation over a cup of tea or beside a tray with an opium-smoking pipe.

(3) For a general description of the Tali area (the geographical conditions of Tali and its environs) the reader may look up C.P. Fitzgerald, The Tower of Five Glories, London, 1941. As a serious scientific effort the book is a hotchpotch of hearsay and observation which disgraces rather than deserves the name of ethnology. This will be dealt with elsewhere in extenso.

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S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, S ST and where the distinction between them lies.

197 If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings S ST or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the An-101 namese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same S family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and ST Cochin China.

291 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the 301 neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

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000 road descends slightly and turns up another valley to the mixed Chinese and La-hu village of Man-nung[1], where there is an official with the rank of *Hsün-chien* and a guard of 10 Chinese soldiers. I put up in a good-sized temple, built to commemorate the names of the principal civil and military mandarins who took part in the fighting against the La-hus. At the time of my visit the La-hus had been completely subdued and there was no large Chinese garrison in this neighbourhood.

563 Two more days of hilly marching brought us to Mêng-mêng[2] on the 20th April. Since crossing the Mekong we had been again in a country in which the La-hus form the greater part of the population. This tribe is almost entirely confined to the tract between the Salween and the Mekong. Among them there is in this neighbourhood a sprinkling of Chinese and also some Was or Las. The Chinese and La-hus often live together in the same village, and the latter seem now quite reconciled to Chinese rule. Mêng-mêng is a Shan state which was formerly subject to Kêng-ma but is now practically independent, though they still pay a nominal tribute of gold and silver flowers. The plain is some seven miles long and inhabited by Shans except for one Chinese village, the people of which are emigrants from Ching-tung T'ing who came here five generations ago. The town is the largest Shan place anywhere in this neighbourhood and contains 400 houses. It is governed by a sawbwa who was at the time of my visit [241] a boy of 17. The plain is well cultivated and the people seem fairly well off, but their prosperity depends on their rice fields; there is little or no trade in the state.

We left the next day, some of the Shan officials very civilly riding out with me two or three miles of the way, and then leaving me an escort of 10 men to go on with us to Kêng-ma. We camped for the night at Ya-sai, a village [197] of 40 houses inhabited by Chinese and P'u-mans. These P'u-mans speak exactly the same language as the Las of this district, but they do not consider themselves as at all the same race as the Las, though they cannot offer any explanation as to how they have come to use the same language.

[1] Man-nawng is its proper Shan name.
[2] Möng Möng in Shan.

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000 inhabitants of the valley are chiefly Shans. In the first
march we passed two of the salt wells. One of these called
317 Hsi-k'ung-ching I stopped to examine. The water is drawn up in a large skin bucket from the well, which they say is 180 feet deep. It is then boiled in enormous cauldrons for three or four days till a residuum of earth strongly impregnated with salt is left. This is then pounded, mixed with water and boiled afresh over and over again till nothing but pure salt remains. The well is said to produce 500 lbs. of salt in the year. They do not work it in the rains, as they say the water is not then salt enough. I suppose the amount of rain water which falls into the well and filters through the earth into it dilutes the original salt water so much that it is not worth boiling.

273 Strong liquor is apparently sold cheap at Hsi-k'ung-ching, for soon after we had got to our halting place for the night I got a message to say that my Madrassi cook was lying on the road and could not be got on. So dead drunk was he that he could not move for hours and did not turn up till the middle of the night. He appeared the next morning with a bland face as if nothing particular had happened, and afterwards explained that a bad attack of fever had prevented him from arriving in camp as soon as he could have wished.

000 Indian servants are the greatest possible nuisance in China, as of course they are quite unable to talk to anyone or to buy anything. Their only use is that they attract a good deal of attention, and take part of the crowd of sightseers away from oneself. In Burma it is impossible to get a Chinese cook. Travellers entering western China from the Yangtze direction have the great advantage of coming with Chinese servants.

On the second day out of Wei-yüan we left the Chên-yüan road and, fording the river, turned eastward. The road was abominable, leading up the actual bed of a stream covered with large stones, and crossing the stream more
563 than 30 times in less than six miles. We slept at Têng-
197 t'ung, a village inhabited by the K'a-tu tribe, who are called Wo-ni by the Chinese. Their language is closely allied to the different Lo-lo dialects, and the headquarters of the tribe is in the T'a-lang district.

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much the same size as the Pa-pien Chiang. The elevation of this river here is only 2,600 feet, and it is spanned by another chain bridge in the same shaky condition as that we had crossed two days before.

Sleeping at Chang-lu-p'ing we had a climb of 2,600 feet the next morning, and then a descent to the little narrow plain in which T'a-lang T'ing is built. The town appears to contain 500 houses or so, and has I think better shops than P'u-êrh. Its principal importance is derived from its gold mine, which lies some miles off the town. I did not visit it, as it had been examined in the previous year by Turner and Ker.

The villagers in this plain belong chiefly to the Wo-ni race, who are divided into three tribes, the K'a-tu, Pu-tu, and Pi-o. These all speak Lo-lo dialects closely allied to each other, but they have not the straight features and fine physique which are characteristic of the genuine Lo-lo. M. Bons d'Anty, of the French Consular Service, who is an authority on Lo-los, considers these tribes to be the original owners of the soil and to have been conquered by the Lo-los, who have imposed their own language upon them. If this is so, it seems probable that they belonged originally to the Mon-Annam race, and are connected with the P'u-mans and the Las and Was.

We met many Pu-tu and Pi-o families returning from the town. The dress of their women is picturesque. The dark coat reaching nearly to the knees is open in front, with a separate piece of cloth fastened across the breasts. In the arrangement of this piece of cloth lies a distinction between two of the tribes, for in the case of the Pu-tu it is buttoned on to the coat, while among the Pi-o it is simply fastened round inside the coat. The skirt of both tribes consists of one piece of stuff put on round the waist and just tucked in to fasten it. The turban has a long piece of spare cloth which is thrown back from the front over the top of the head. Their ornaments are large silver earrings. The colour of their coats and waistcloths forms another distinguishing tribal mark, for those of the Pi-o women are often white, those of the Pu-tu always dark blue. The young unmarried girls of both tribes wear blue caps instead of turbans, and their hair is cut to a length

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This tribe lives on both banks of the Gold River between my Romi Tschanggu and Wa se kou, the place where the Ta tsien lu River flows into the /218/ Kin tschuan - Tung ho which the Ta tsien lu Tibetans there call rDyarong mutschü. The Yü tung people (Tibetan: Godong) are under the rule of their own hereditary prince and speak a language that neither Chinese nor Tibetans nor people from Kin tschuan understand, and that is supposed to have similarity only with the language of Bawang, the next kingdom above Romi Tschanggu. The inhabitants are farmers and are probably already related to the Lolo of Ning yüan fu, whose language, however, has a certain relationship with Tibetan. Each year in the eleventh Chinese month they celebrate a large folk festival during which they light fires on all the mountains, amid great shouting. The festival is supposed to free the country from a dreadful snake god. In former times - so the natives tell - there lived a large snake among them in a cave, to which each year a human being had to be offered as sacrifice. Each family in turn was obliged to throw one of its members to the snake. Once fate struck a smith, but he tossed a large piece of white-hot iron into the cave. The snake snapped at it, devoured it and burned up miserably. Its petrified image is still shown near the river. The neighbors of the Godong are amazed at the strange way in which these people carry burdens. Even loads up to 100 pounds that are meant to be carried on one's back they carry fastened to a band on their forehead.

101 [97] [52] [73] [462]

On the left bank of the Tung River toward the south are the territories of the Leng pien and beyond that of the Schen pien tu se. However, today these are almost completely swallowed up by the great flood of Chinese.

/218/ On June 13, I attempted to follow the Great Gold River upstream, but was deterred because of all-too precipitous places, in view of my unskillful horses of the steppes, and decided to get to the next mandarin city of Mu gung ting by way of the so-called da lu, the main highway and military road. The journey thither was supposed to take only three days. From Mu gung ting a road that was not dangerous was said to lead over the mountains to the upper part of the Gold River. However, already the crossing of the suspension

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